

## ***GRAPO: The Resistance That Never Ends***

The Groups of Anti-Fascist Resistance, First of October (GRAPO) is not the first leftist organization that has taken up arms to confront the regime under which we live. We must remember that since the insurrection of Asturias in 1934, going into the civil war and the guerrilla war of the 1940's and 50's, as a practical matter, armed struggle has not ceased in Spain. Or, as the expert "informer" and vice president of Group 16, Alesandro Munoz Alonso says: "Francoism had to deal with terrorist manifestations from the first moment." As this phenomenon is nothing new, GRAPO declares that they are "the inheritors of that anti-fascist armed struggle in the new economic, political, and social conditions in Spain", and have become an enemy especially feared and persecuted by the powers that be.

GRAPO made its appearance in a crucial moment of Spanish political life: in 1975, when the fascist regime was going through one of the most serious crises of its history. Faced with the bankruptcy of its "opening" policy (which were the first steps to adapt the state apparatus to new conditions under which fascist methods were being shown to be inefficient), its social isolation, the boycott and the workers struggles breaking out everywhere, the oligarchy resorted to even more unrestrained state terrorism. Throughout the summer of that year, known as the "summer of terror", the repression cost several lives, it produced numerous round-ups and detentions, the first "anti-terrorist" law was put into operation (which would be maintained and developed by the UCD and PSOE governments), and initiated a whole series of very summary processes. On September 27, in the middle of the wave of protest demonstrations running throughout Europe, 5 anti-fascist patriots were shot with the objective of stopping the mass movement as well as showing that the regime was invulnerable and that any resistance was futile. But four days later, on October 1st, when Franco and his followers were celebrating the shootings in Plaza De Oriente, four policemen were shot to death by various commandos in different parts of Madrid. The executors of these actions were the Groups of Anti-Fascist Resistance who took the name of that first of October and whose first militants had come from the ranks of the PCE(r) - Communist Party of Spain, Reconstituted.

The actions on that October 1st made the regime retreat, it was made to stop its terrorist escalation (more than 20, summary processes with death penalty petitions were suspended) and it changed the orientation of its "opening" process.

On July 3, 1976, Adolfo Suarez, is named president of government, assuring in a speech that "the feeling of the reform (initiated by Arias Navarro) will not change but the manner of putting it into practice will change." But Suarez's intentions would find that on July 18, which continued to be the regime's official day of celebration, GRAPO detonated over 30 bombs in fascist monuments, places, and institutions all across the the territorial state. A few days later after this wave of explosions, another attack against similar objectives was launched. In one of these attacks the first two deaths of GRAPO militants occurred when the bomb they were going to place in the Palace of Justice in Seville exploded prematurely. The militants of this organization would later say: "The resistance has not only not been liquidated by the new manoeuvres of the monopolies' regime, but from this moment on, it will increase".

And that is, in fact, what happened with the continual "disarticulations" which were GRAPO's objectives. The regime found that with each step that it took in its political manoeuvres (or as its official spokesman would say, "progress on the path to democratization"), these would be dynamited once and again and "exposed in their significance of covering and strengthening fascism" by GRAPO. The kidnapping of the President of the Council of State Orial y Urquiso, and of the President of the Supreme Council of Military Justice, Lt. General Villegusa, carried out in December 1976 and January 1977 respectively, had special importance. GRAPO gave these actions the name "Operation Chrome" and carried them out with the objective of "the liberation of political prisoners and the denunciation of the 'reforms' to institutionalize and legalize fascism".

The noted fact that their actions always coincided with key political situations was thus explained by GRAPO: "A guerrilla organization which wants to win the heart and active support of its people cannot simply limit itself to striking, it should also know when, where, and how to strike. Because of that our military operations have responded in each moment to the political necessities of the mass movement: responding to fascist crimes, denouncing the electoral masquerade and the permanence of fascism, to encourage and support the masses in their resistance struggle against the monopolies' exploitation and

oppression..." Thus, for example, the action carried out in the last weeks of January 1977 against various policemen and civil guards was done "in response to the murders of pro-amnesty demonstrators Arturo Ruiz and Mari Luz Najera, and to the Atocha street massacre of labour lawyers in Madrid."

In 1977 with "Operation Chrome" and later in the summer many important militants of the organization fell. Along with the relentless police repression, the media orchestrated an entire symphony of silence and incredible interpretations "to destroy the image of the terrorist's organization and with that make very difficult its implantation among the working classes", according to Juan Tomas De Salas, president of Group 16. But, despite all that, GRAPO continued to carry out all kinds of actions, among which can be mentioned for its repercussions, the action carried out in an armoury in which 500 kilos of explosives were expropriated on September 27 and which cost the life of police captain Florentino Herquedas, who had directed one of the execution platoons in the firing squads of September 27, 1975; or the bombing actions done in solidarity with the imprisoned Red Army Fraction militants of West Germany, or the imprisoned ETA militants in France.

### **A Tactic Of Armed Struggle For An Anti-Fascist Strategy**

In 1978, GRAPO analyzed its experiences and published a booklet called "Experiences of Three Years of Struggle", in which they cover their objectives as well as the tactical and strategic principles which orient and guide their activity.

For GRAPO, "The guerrilla war by itself, separated from the resistance movement, or above it, if it is not led by the working class would strike blindly and eventually be annihilated". According to GRAPO, "The working class with its party in the vanguard is the leading and directing force of our revolution, it is the firmest and clearest sector and as such it is the one called on to lead and direct the revolution; the unity of the resistance includes the guerrilla". For GRAPO, this is a strategic principle and on it they base their political relationship with the PCE(r), which helps them in their analysis and in their ideological orientation. On their part, the PCE(r), through the presence and political work of the communists who have integrated themselves into the armed organization - organically both organizations are totally independent - give it a class base and direction and ensure its proletarian political and ideological direction "for the correct development of the guerrilla's activities".

For GRAPO, "Because of the existence of fascism along with the consequent lack of real liberties and the super-exploitation that we have seen and still see the proletariat and the wide popular masses submitted to, the main contradiction operating in the Spanish state is that which confronts the people against fascism and the monopolies." This contradiction determines GRAPO's strategic program, which has an anti-fascist, anti-monopolist, and anti-imperialist character.

To achieve these objectives GRAPO has elaborated a strategy of prolonged people's war "adapted to the economic, social and political conditions of Spain". For GRAPO, given the characteristics of the Spanish state, in which they consider it to be impossible to organize and educate the masses within the bounds of legality, this accumulation of revolutionary forces can only be realized "through the popular resistance movement which combines the political struggle of the masses, strikes, demonstration, etc., with the armed guerrilla struggle practised by small groups".

According to GRAPO, the popular forces now find themselves in a strategic defensive phase as the monopolist state can count on a strong centralized repressive apparatus with relatively powerful means and considerable imperialist support, while the popular forces are relatively weak. That is from where the resistance movement is speaking. This occurs on a general or strategic level. "OK now", explains GRAPO, "on a tactical level it is the popular forces, in reality, the guerrilla, which have the initiative and hit the reactionaries where, when, and how it wants. That is how the popular forces transform their strategic disadvantage into a tactical advantage."

### **A Step Backwards**

1978 marks the changing point of the "transition to democracy". The ruling powers, sunken in uncertainty and in a profound weakness carry out the "transition" with the establishment of a constitution. That was the year the strike movement reached its highest point, producing very radicalized demonstrations in Galicia, Adalucia, and above all, in Euskadi; there was even an attempt to assault a barracks of the armed police in San Sebastian. The crisis which had been dragging the regime down since the last days of Franco was deepening. The "Suarista" policy was sinking, and taking with it the

reformists.

Not withstanding that situation, GRAPO foresaw a period of ebbing in the popular and workers movement which together with the fact that they had become the main objective of police (and journalistic) repression, would take them to analyze the new conditions in which they would have to continue the struggle. Thus in "Three Years of Experience of Struggle", they said: "But the situation is not only changing for the better, aside from that we must take into account a less favourable aspect for us; that the enemy has learned and has more knowledge about us than when we started. That makes it necessary to analyze that experience, but it can be said that for a long time we will have to move under conditions which will be favourable from a political viewpoint but which will be relatively unfavourable from the aspect of organizing our movement". These were the conditions which GRAPO foresaw characterizing the period between 1979 and 1984.

Before the situation of political weakness in which the regime found itself, and in the face of the first symptoms of ebbing in the workers movement, GRAPO and with the PCR(r) and other organizations proposed a program to rekindle the fire, known as the "Five Point Program, in which they picked out the democratic aspirations most felt by the popular masses. This program contained the following: 1) complete and general amnesty for all political prisoners and exiles. Repeal of anti-terrorist law and other repressive laws; 2) a purge of fascist elements from the repressive groups, judiciary and other state institutions; 3) political and union liberties with no restriction; 4) rejection of integration into NATO and dismantling of foreign military bases; 5) dissolution of the current parliament and the convening of truly free elections and liberty for all parties and social groups to campaign and freely defend, with no obstacles, their ideals and political programs.

This program was an apparent step backwards for GRAPO in relation to their strategic objectives, but it was a step back which in the future would allow them to take two steps forward. In the first place it would allow for the polarizing of positions (either with the regime or with the resistance) of a sector becoming more numerous in our society and which demands real changes in the state, and, secondly, it allowed for the possibility of achieving a series of political gains which would facilitate later advances by the popular resistance movement.

In GRAPO's conception, the 5 Point Program was not merely a propaganda program, but was first and foremost a flexible tactical program to be utilized at its basic level; in that while it did not modify the capitalist nature of the system, it did not abandon the resistance struggle and the other struggles firmly and decisively behind it. Because of this, all actions during 1979-1984 were directed towards the implementation of this program. In a communiqué announcing a wave of sabotage carried out in the early hours of September 29, 1982 they said: "All of these actions (...) are firmly fixed within the struggle for achieving the Five Point Program". And effectively starting at the end of 1978, GRAPO would have periods of maximum activity to impose this program, but would also receive heavy blows. 1979 would have both these extremes.

The first part of the year would be marked by a spate of guerrilla activity unknown since the civil war. Among the many actions of all kinds carried out by GRAPO were some as significant as the assassination attempt against General Agustín Muñoz Vázquez, the military leader who negotiated Spain's integration into NATO, the assassination of Rodríguez Román, Director General of the DGS when in March 1976 the police in Vitoria machine-gunned a worker's demonstration; the attack on the police commissar Beltrán who was known in Seville as the torturer of anti-fascist workers; the blowing up of the Police Commissar for the central district of Madrid, or the failed attempt against the Director General of Penal Institutions, García Valdés.

By contrast, in the second half of 1979, GRAPO received one of the heaviest setbacks of its history, with over 30 militants captured and the dismantling of laboratories and workshops for the manufacture of explosives and other tools needed by the organization. The government believed that with these captures it had finished GRAPO, but a little later, on December 17, five leaders of the organization escaped from Zamora prison. In a little more than 6 months GRAPO once again had its workshops operating and its commandos operating throughout the state territory.

In 1982, the government of Valdó Sotelo was obligated, because of GRAPO's activities which impeded its ability to rule, to give the first steps to a negotiated solution which would save the regime from the ruin threatening it. These steps lengthened until the summer of 1983 when the PSOE government closed any avenues of negotiation with its repressive policies and "repentance" policy. The regime believed

that with 10 million votes behind it the regime could avoid having to make concessions and could so isolate and liquidate the armed popular organizations.

In 1984, the PSOEist government made its pro-monopolist and imperialist policy very clear and it launched itself on a program of state terrorism aimed at the extermination of all resistance. Realizing that "the last reformist illusions of the masses have disappeared, that the sold out parties and unions are in total bankruptcy, that the worker and popular movements are ascending and applying truly radical and revolutionary means of struggle..., and that definitely the conditions that motivated and made possible the 5 Point Program have disappeared", GRAPO considered that era to be closed, feeling that continuing to insist on negotiation of the Program did not respond to real conditions and would only feed false illusions and objectively slow down the popular resistance movement.

### Two Steps

According to GRAPO, this resistance movement finds itself now able to continue combat on a higher level and for more elevated goals. That is why they no longer struggle "for some improvements (...) but for the overthrow of the state of monopolies of the fascist regime and for the installation of a regime of liberty in which power resides in the people and they are the ones who exercise it." Thus GRAPO again put their strategic program on the first level.

In relation to these objectives GRAPO renewed their activities with a view not focused on the short term, as in the last period, but with the goal of overcoming this prolonged defensive strategy phase. Thus, for example, one of the immediate tasks they set out on and began to put into practice is that of gaining a qualitative leap in their self-financing, and doing so by means of charging a revolutionary tax. Another significant task they set out to realize was that of consolidating and developing the guerrilla; not just maintaining it, but establishing it as a central activity in supporting, building, and developing the popular resistance movement; to make it grow and at the same time grow with it. They believe that to overthrow a modern capitalist state, such as the Spanish regime, "a strong communist party, well rooted in the proletariat, a broad mass movement with a revolutionary character and a guerrilla army of the people are needed".

### Sidebar:

15 dead casualties in the organization since 1976.

80 militants in prison.

2,000 sympathizers, approximately, have been detained and released without charges in the last 10 years. 3,000 armed actions. Some 100 dead victims, more than a dozen kidnappings, 1,700 bombings, over 1,000 expropriations.

100 businessmen and industrialists paid the revolutionary tax in 1984, the year it was initiated.

*(Translators Note: This article first appeared in "Area Critica" in 1985.)*

The First of October Anti-fascist Resistance Groups (GRAPO) were formed in the summer of 1975. At that time twenty members of the Re-Constituted Spanish Communist Party (PCE-R), underground party formed five months before, carried out their first armed action against the fascist security forces. On 2nd August 1975 a couple of Civil Guard members were shot in the centre of Madrid. One was dead and another one seriously injured. It was the first strike back of GRAPO against the wave of fascist-inspired terror known as "the summer of terror".

The PCE(r) had its own "section technique" created to carry out expropriations of banks to support the revolutionary struggle and punishing police informers, from the core of this section it emerged the GRAPO.

On 1st October 1975 five different GRAPO commandos executed four policemen and seriously injured another one in Madrid. It was the answer to the assassinations of five antifascists ( 2 members of ETA and 3 members of FRAP -an extinct organization-) killed by police firing squads in application of death penalties ordered by the military authorities, on 27th September.

GRAPO didn't claim responsibility for these actions till 18th July 1976 when 60 bombs blasted fascist targets throughout the country. It was the 60th anniversary of the beginning of the Civil War won by the fascists.

In January 1977 the police arrested 40 PCE(r) and GRAPO members in Madrid and Barcelona and succeeded in freeing Lieutenant-General Villaescusa and the member of the Spanish oligarchy Oriol, who had been kept prisoners by GRAPO commands for 60 days to exchange them for political prisoners and forcing the government to apply an amnesty. Some days before two GRAPO commands have executed two policemen and one Civil guard in Madrid and injured three civil guards more in two separate attacks on the fascist forces as a reaction against the killings of five leftish lawyers by a paramilitary gang acting under Civil Guard orders.

On 4th June two civil guards were shot dead in Barcelona, it was the day of the first general elections since 1936 and the reformist farce was going on. This action was a clear sign that showed that the revolutionary organizations will not accept the renewal of fascism under any "democratic" mask.

On 27th September 1977 Captain Herguedas, of the National Police was shot dead by a GRAPO command in Madrid. He had been one of the fascist volunteers who executed five antifascists just two years before.

In 1977 and 1978 GRAPO actions went on, mainly bombs against army and military quarters but also against government facilities and some selective annihilations were also carried out. On 22 March 1978 the Manager General of Prisons was shot dead near his house in Madrid. He was responsible for the killing of one anarchist prisoner in Carabanchel Prison, beaten to death by the guards that tried to take information from him about a scape plan of GRAPO and PCE(r) prisoners.

1979 was the year in which GRAPO carried out most actions: on 9th January a Judge from the Supreme Court was shot dead, on 5th March an Army General was executed when his car came under fire from a GRAPO team in a center street of Madrid, on 6th April a chief of the "Antiterroris" Brigade of the National Police (NP) was executed in Seville; totally 20 members of the fascist police were executed that year in a combination of actions of URBAN GUERRILLA throughout the country, many bombs blasted that year too.

On the other hand GRAPO and PCE(r) militants payed a high price for it: 100 people were jailed accused of membership to these organizations, (police claimed that both PCE(r) and GRAPO were a same thing and many PCE(r) militants were arrested without any evidence against them, and the Party was banned again, the same as under the military dictatorship). Seven members of PCE(r) and GRAPO were killed by the police that year: On 28th June Martín Eizaguirre and Fernandez Cario were assassinated by a special team of the Spanish military secret service in Paris. They were members of the Committee of Foreign Relations of the PCE(r) and were exiled. On 20th April Juan Carlos Delgado de Codes, member of the Central Committee of the PCE(r) was shot dead by the police in Madrid, he was unarmed and didn't belong to the guerilla. Only between April and May GRAPO carried out 30 armed actions in response to the killing of Delgado de Codes. This was criticized later by the Central Commando of GRAPO and the PCE(r) as falling in a blind militaristic tactics. From that moment on GRAPO aimed all its efforts to maintain the armed struggle and give it a protracted character, assuming that it

is not only possible but also necessary to follow a Protracted People's War strategy and that it is possible to develop this strategy in an European developed country.

On 17th Dec 1979 five prisoners of GRAPO escaped from Zamora jail using a tunnel digged for months by GRAPO and PCE(r) prisoners, (some of them were miners). It was a strong shock for the government that tried to recapture them at any cost. Three of them were finally killed by the police (in 1980, 1981 and 1982) and the other two were recaptured soon as they joined again the fight.

In 1980 and 1981 GRAPO was a weak organization due to the repression carried against its supporters. In those years they carried out eight executions, including two Army Generals and one Colonel to denounce the role played by the army in the dirty war and contrainsurgency. Some policemen and civil guards were also executed. GRAPO, as an organization that aims to become the core of the future People's Army never has targeted innocent civilians nor use dangerous devices for civilians in their military actions and sabotages. In 1980-81 nine members of GRAPO were killed by the police in a clear shoot-to-kill policy. One PCE(r) militant died as consequence of torture in 1980 and on 19th June 1981 Crespo Galende, PCE(r) prisoner, died in a hunger strike (he lasted 94 days) against the policy of torture, isolement and annihilation of the political prisoners. The government was forced to reunify the prisoners and allow them to keep their Communes in the jails. (The Karl Marx Communne -80 prisoners of PCE(r) and GRAPO- in Soria Prison lasted till 1989 when the socialfascist government dismantled it).

In October 1982 the PSOE (socialfascists) arrived to the government. The PSOE began killing Juan Martin Luna, leader of GRAPO, shot dead six times in Barcelona in a cover-operation. He was unarmed, some years later three policemen were charged with murder, but in practice, they were acquitted. On the eve of the elections, (28th October), GRAPO had planted 30 bombs in Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia and other twelve different parts of the country, the blasts were aimed to promote BOYCOTT and to denounce the electoral farce.

In 1983 and 1984 GRAPO recovered from its previous weakness and carried out many armed actions. In those years they planted about 70 bombs against police targets, in support of worker strikes, in support of other countries revolutionaries, etc. and also against the bourgeois mass media.. (eg. bomb against the German consulate in support of the RAF prisoners, bomb against the Employers Organization, ...)

In those years GRAPO also carried out some executions: In April 1983 a Lieutenant of the National Police and a civil guard were executed in Valencia and Coruña, the first one with a blast in his car and the second one being shot dead.

On 2nd January 1984 two policemen were shot dead in Madrid, in that year GRAPO made frantic efforts to support the proletarian struggles throughout the country (46 bombs blasted that year), to strike back the repressive forces and to collect the revolutionary tax needed to keep the fight alive, (100 businessmen paid the revolutionary tax that year). On 5th September three different GRAPO commands launched an offensive to force the exploiters to pay the revolutionary tax. In Madrid a businessman who had refused to pay was shot dead, in Seville another GRAPO team executed Manuel de la Padura, well-known businessman and chairman of the Employer's Association, and, finally in Coruña the responsible of the National Radio broadcasting was seriously injured in retaliation for his counter-revolutionary Propaganda. It was a warning for the reactionary mass media who continually discredit the revolutionary fight. One of the GRAPO militants who had carried out the action in Coruña was killed by the police some hours later and another one was injured and captured when the GEO-Squad (NP special assault squad) raided the house where they were hidden.

The repression launched against GRAPO and the PCE(r) that year was very hard. In June Manuel Perez Martinez "comrade Arenas", secretary general of the PCE(r) left prison after having been jailed since 1977 accused of "unlawful association", he, as many other former prisoners of PCE(r) had to go into underground again as the only way of developing the struggle out of police control. Since the 70's part of the PCE(r) and GRAPO leadership and clandestine organization has been based in France, the Spanish police has never been able to destroy it.

On 19th January 1985 the Spanish political police succeeded in capturing most of the GRAPO militants in Spain: 19 of them were captured in nine different provinces, the police discovered 17 flats, lots of weapons and ammunition and money collected through the revolutionary tax. This disaster was possible due to the breaking of many security and clandestine rules by the GRAPO in its aim of carrying out too many actions in support of the people's struggles. The strict compartmentation within the Organization had been broken and this allowed the police

to assess this strong strike in only forty-eight hours.

The reorganization of GRAPO was slow and difficult, in 1985 it had almost ceased to exist but the spirit of sacrifice of the new militants, most of them without any previous guerrilla experience; allowed to go on with the struggle. In 1985 and 1986 they carried out some bank expropriations, some went wrong and seven GRAPO members were captured. Money had become the main problem since they were not strong enough to collect the revolutionary tax, they needed flats, cars, and facilities to develop urban guerrilla successfully from the underground. Weapons were also desperately needed.

1987 was a small turning point, in that year they carried six armed actions according to police sources. There were some successful bank expropriations (small ones) and a quarter of the Local police was assaulted in Malaga to seize arms, they disarmed three constables and tied them up. (They were not executed as not being considered proper targets, Local Police is mainly concerned with traffic and plays no special repressive role). In another operation a GRAPO command tried to assault a National Police quarter in Valence to seize blank identity cards, there was a shooting and a policeman was seriously injured.

In 1988 GRAPO carried out some armed actions to collect the revolutionary tax again. On 27th May the President of the Bank of Galicia was shot dead in his house, he had refused to pay alerting the police about GRAPO activity. He was a well-known exploiter who had ~~empoverished~~ many people (specially poor peasants), he was also responsible for the closing of many factories due to banking speculation. Two months later another businessman was seriously shot.

On 4th October GRAPO succeeded in seizing 800 blank identity cards from a police station in the center of Madrid. A policeman was shot dead and his arm seized too. (Most of GRAPO weapons came from its actions against the police and security guards).

On 10th March 1989 GRAPO executed two civil guards in Santiago the same day that the TREVI group was having a meeting in Madrid. (TREVI was then the visible head of repression in Western Europe). In July 1989 GRAPO solved their economical problems expropriating 148 million pesetas (one million dollars) from a bank in Castellón.

In November the political prisoners of PCE(r) and GRAPO started an indefinite hunger strike asking for the end of isolation and their reunification in a single jail. (The communnes of political prisoners had been dismantled by the PSOE government in 1987). To support the struggle of the prisoners GRAPO launched an offensive in December:

on 13th an Army Commander was shot in Madrid, he was seriously injured; on 15th an Army Colonel was seriously injured in Valencia, he was shot three times; on 18th a member of the secret police was shot dead near Barcelona when he was leaving his house, and on 28th two civil guards were executed in Gijón while they were guarding an official building. The government responded arresting militants of the PCE(r), jailing them and trying to involve them in these armed actions. (One of the lies spread by the mass media says that GRAPO members are recruited only among the militants of the PCE(r), trying to present this clandestine revolutionary party as the "political branch" of GRAPO).

As the hunger strike went on many prisoners were moved to hospitals where they were chained to their beds, disturbed by police and forced to receive "forced nourishment" in a desperate and torturing measure of the government to avoid the death of these revolutionaries at that very moment (they preferred to annihilate them slowly and silently in the prisons).

On 27th March 1990 a GRAPO command executed doctor Muñoz in Zaragoza. In their statement GRAPO called him "a torturer" ready to follow the government instructions to submit the prisoners to the agony and torture of the forced nourishment. He had refused orders from a judge to stop this kind of torture and was a firm supporter of the government plans of extermination. (casually he was cousin of the Spanish Attorney General). As a consequence of the forced nourishment the hunger strike became very prolonged. On 25th May, José Manuel Sevillano Martín died after 177 days on hunger strike, he was a member of GRAPO and had been imprisoned since 1987. GRAPO decided to avoid entering a tit-for-tat tactics because this only could benefit the already alert security forces and after a retaliation action ( the execution of an Army Colonel on 15th June in Valladolid) centered themselves on carrying out an offensive to take the initiative again in september.

In september 1990 GRAPO planted six bombs in Madrid, Tarragona, Barcelona and Gijón. On 6th three bombs went off in Madrid (one in the Stock Exchange, another one in the Supreme Court and the last one in the ministry of Economy). In none of these actions was any civilian casualties. On 8th september a bomb blasted petrol facilities in Tarragona causing damage valued at 3 million dollars; on 10th the

PSOE central office in Barcelona was bombed causing damages valued at 100.000 dollars. That month ended with a GRAPO action in Gijón in which a commando raided an official building seizing one thousand blank driving licenses and then planted a bomb that blasted the facilities. In November 1990 two more bombs blasted two official buildings in Barcelona.

In 1991 and 1992 GRAPO went on with the bombing campaign against official buildings: in April 1992 GRAPO bombed the National Institute of Industry and the Ministry of Employment in Madrid, two civil guards were injured. One year before, in February 1991 a GRAPO bomb cut for six hours the military NATO pipeline that feeds the US air bases in Spain. It was intended to sabotage this pipeline which was being used by the US superfortress that devastated Irakian Cities. There were also sabotages against the facilities of the energy monopolies in 1991 and 1992 as well as bank expropriations.

In 1993 three GRAPO militants died in Zaragoza in an attack on an armoured car that was blasted with explosives to expropriate the funds that it contained. One security guard also died and two more were seriously injured. That year seven bombs exploded in official buildings in Madrid ( in the Employers Association, PSOE offices, and other offices involved in the industrial reconversion which had fired thousands of workers).

In 1994 GRAPO actions were intended to seize funds that were desperately needed. Some expropriations were carried out. In January two bombs exploded in Madrid in the eve of a general strike, a Tax Office and an Unemployment Office were blasted. In July and December two armoured cars were assaulted and money was expropriated (about half million dollars).

In 1995 GRAPO carried out one of the most important and decisive actions of the last years. On 27th June they kidnapped Publio Cordón, wealthy businessman president of the insurance company PREVIASA; he was freed on 17th August in Barcelona after paying 400 million pesetas (about three million dollars). He had to pay other 800 million pesetas after his liberation and he decided to fly away (his business are not very clean, he was also consul of Guatemala and has important business in that country. In November the police arrested three GRAPO members in Barcelona and Valencia but they could not recover the money.

Nowadays it seems that GRAPO is undergoing a new reorganization

and there is one clear thing: the fascist Spanish state has lost the battle in the sense that it has not been able to annihilate the armed organization nor the revolutionary party , the PCE(r).

Along these 21 years 3.000 people have been arrested by the police in relation to GRAPO and the PCE(r), from whom 1.400 have been jailed. Nowadays there are 54 prisoners of PCE(r) and GRAPO in Spanish jails. From 1975 to 1995 GRAPO have carried out about 60 executions, more than 300 bombs have been planted and the armed actions carried out are about 3.000. (Spanish Govt. officially recognizes 545).

20 GRAPO militants have died by police action or as consequence of blasts. Seven PCE(r) militants have been killed by the police and the paramilitary gangs. According to police sources about 100 PCE(r) and GRAPO members are in the underground.

We hope you like this brief history of the armed struggle of GRAPO, unique one in Western Europe due to the Protracted People's War strategy followed by the PCE(r) and GRAPO.

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# Statement of the GRAPO

April 12th, 1999

In the dawn of April 7th, an active commando of our Organization, the First of October Antifascist Resistance Groups (GRAPO), has demolished by means of a powerful explosive charge the interior of the Valle de los Caídos basilica, the funeral monument where the mortal remains of the main heads of the Spanish State are buried and which was inaugurated by the dictator Franco forty years ago.

The Valle de los Caídos basilica is one of the most clear examples of the persistence of the fascist regime and has always arisen the hatred of the masses since it represents the sweeping away of their democratic rights and liberties. The fascist regime is still standing and this is also proved by the fact that, after more than twenty years of «democratic» reforms, the men and women that have most combated it are still in the jails, and many of them have been there for more than twenty years, even when they have already served their sentences; it is also proved by the amnesty that the State has given to the direct responsibles of the GAL\*, at the same time that it jailed the National Leadership of HB and continued the dirty war with the practice of torture and political assassinations, as the one of José Luis Geresta Mujika, an ETA member.

This action against the Valle de los Caídos basilica joins others carried out lately by our groups among which we highlight the following:

- Placement of explosive devices in the facilities of the Cope Radio Broadcast in Barcelona, on August 5th; in the Temporary Employment Agencies «Alta Gestión» in Vigo, on November 6th, and «Adecco» situated in Marqués de Vadillo circus in Madrid, on November 25th.

- Blasting of the Temporary Employment Agency «Unitrab» situated in Lérida street in Madrid, on November 12th; and of the National Institute for Labour Hygiene and Security in Ciudad Lineal, Madrid, on November 13th.

- Blasting of the Central seat of the Catalonian Employers' Organization in Barcelona and of the Young Businessman Association of Baix Llobregat in Cornellá, both of them on December 30th.

It is clear that under this regime we, the workers, cannot expect a solution to the many problems that affect us directly and that the capitalist economic crisis is sharpening more and more each day; neither can we expect the least economic, social or politic concessions of the Spanish oligarchy in a peaceful way. The ones that imposed themselves by means of arms and terror and are still maintaining themselves in power through the arms, must be overthrown by the arms. For this reason, we have to combat them resolutely, uniting the popular masses and increasing the resistance everywhere.



**There is no truce against fascism!  
Join the resistance!  
Let's unite our forces!  
Forward the People's Resistance Movement!**

**Central Commando of the First of October  
Antifascist Resistance Groups (GRAPO)**

\*GAL: Death squads lead by the Home Office responsible for 27 killings between 1983-87. (Translator's note)

## Marxism and idealism

The components of the "anti-imperialist" current are accustomed to calling themselves Marxists, but their Marxism has little to do with the fundamental principals defended by Marx, Engels and Lenin, aside from not taking into account at all dialectical and historical materialism.

That we know, ~~the~~ Marxists share the economic and social analysis of the classes in struggle in society, of the means of production and the historic era for, later, elaborating a Proletarian program and their communist strategy. To realize this task they distinguish between the so called objective conditions (which are imposed on the Proletariat and its communist vanguard) and the subjective (those which the Proletariat can decide, what their tactics and strategy should be, etc.). In studying the RAF's documents we note a lack of this type of analysis.

Of the analysis made by the RAF we would like to particularly point out the short comings of their concepts of proletarianization and the international Proletariat.

They affirm, for example, that social classes cannot yet be defined

by "the position they occupy in the process of production." It is enough to remember that, for Marx and Engels, and especially for Lenin, in ~~his~~ <sup>their</sup> ~~class~~ analysis of class and of class struggle in capitalist society, that definition of the classes was always an ~~un~~ <sup>an</sup> unshakeable foundation of Marxism, and of materialism. And on many occasions they warned that abandoning it would lead to the swamp of idealism, opportunism and chauvinism.

It is clear that behind the concepts ~~of~~ such as "militant proletarianization", the "alienation and bourgeoisization (Is there such a word in English? - Paul) of the workers", the "processes in the base", etc. they hide their weakening of Marxism. Thus, the "anti-imperialists" proclaim that "the class" - said like that, in the abstract - are "those who have understood the destructive character of the system," and that "this basis of the proletarianization is the reason that the persons present in the base processes, the resistance, etc., ~~do~~ come from all sectors of the people."

As we can see, the RAF's concepts diverge from Leninism, and it would be important to ask to ask ourselves the circumstances which have made possible the ideological stagnation

of the "anti-imperialist" current. we believe it is the following: In the first place, the disorganization and disorientation of the working class (at the time these groups surged forth) due, above all, to the revisionist theories born in the heat of the ~~XII~~ congress of the CPSSR; it must be taken into account, besides, that all this occurs during a period of relative social peace and even a boom of the capitalist economy. In the second place, the lack of real communist parties to confront the new situation resulted in numerous revolutionary groups surging forth, in good measure, unfamiliar with the revolutionary traditions and experiences of Marxism-Leninism.

These groups confronted the state with the most efficient means they had at their disposal, in principle: the armed struggle, but completely disarmed ideologically. In lacking a firm Leninist spirit and not understanding the necessity of building a party capable of sticking together, organizing, educating and directing the most advanced elements of the working class, it will sooner or later slip into bourgeois and opportunist positions: the ideological positions they wind up assuming are closer to Proudhon or Bakunin than Marx.

undoubtedly a good part of the blame must fall on the advance any extension of the monopolies and the trusts and other economic sectors of capitalist society, cutting or crushing the interests of the petty bourgeoisie which has originated an important discontent in these sectors. Even though this is true, what cannot be accepted is that these sectors, busquely radicalized by their special situation, should seek to represent the interests, objectives or positions of the proletariat. It is for the workers, the most exploited class and exhausted class in capitalist society, from where the most advanced mass elements shall come from, from where the vigorous force necessary to overthrow bourgeois imperialist power shall arise. It is the communists duty to attract the layers which are in a process of proletarianization towards a proletarian program, to make them understand there is no other exist aside from socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, to criticise their desperation and opportunism, their lack of vision, etc. or at least, to neutralize them.

On the other hand, and coherently with the characterizations we have made the "anti-imperialist" comrades, abundantly in their position of idealist confusionism

try to convince us that the state-society contradiction is the principal contradiction in the metropolis.

That we know of, Marxism has never spoken of a contradiction between state and society, but rather, parting from a class analysis, has set out the existing contradiction between the bourgeoisie and their state and the proletariat, etc. And it has always considered the state as an instrument of oppression by one class over another; a repressive military apparatus — in its essence — organized and directed — principally — against the oppressed and exploited class — the proletariat.

The state is the most important organ that the bourgeoisie has in its power, as an instrument of class struggle, against the proletariat. That is the essence of the state. From there the proletariat should direct its efforts to overthrow the bourgeoisie's state to replace it with the new, the proletarian state, the dictatorship of the proletariat. Confronting the state with "society", as the "anti-imperialists" do it, is placing the state outside of society, as a superior entity above it; it is to deny the class character of the state. At the same time it

supposes, considering it to be superfluous and malignant, so that the objective the revolutionaries have planned is to destroy all vestige of the state, as Bakunin wanted to do in his time. In this manner, together with their anti-state predisposition and the absence of a communist program, the "anti imperialists" propose, in accordance with ~~it~~ that state-society contradiction, an inter-class alliance to combat the state which in their eyes is the only cause of all the ills suffered by capitalist "society."

Even though in one of their documents we are told that their revolutionary policy in the metropolis "has nothing to do with a conception of the world," we are seeing that that is not true. We believe that it fits its deeds better to admit that their world conception obeys the situation in which the petty bourgeoisie finds itself, which finding itself without future, crushed by the transnationals centers of its attacks on the imperialist state, especially its military apparatus and alliances. Attacks which have no other perspective than the same struggle which the realize and ~~remember~~, which brings to mind the workers who broke the machines thinking that in

that manner the exploitation of the proletariat would end: above all, these were the old ruined sectors of artisans and small merchants who had seen themselves displaced from their workshops and small businesses by the big mechanization.

The reformists struggle differs radically from the communists struggle in that the latter seek to organize the workers forces organized in the spirit of communism and in the strategy of the Popular prolonged war in the most immediate strategic objectives which they pursue.

It can't be any other way when the "anti-imperialists" believe that the proletariat is not an objective creation of capitalist society but that it is about an act of consciousness. They affirm that the subjective is essential and "decisive" for the struggle in the imperialist centers" in that the imperialist centers "do not naturally produce — aside from only the objective contradictions and existing conditions... — any revolutionary condition, but only destruction and putrefaction.

It is a grave subjectivist error, typical of voluntarism, to maintain these positions, given that for the revolution to triumph there must be determined revolutionary conditions which should be, in the first

place, objective; even though the objective revolutionary conditions are not enough in themselves to overthrow ~~that~~ a regime or government, as these don't fall unless attacked, they are essential. For this reason it is necessary to develop the subjective conditions based on the workers, the most numerous, advanced, exploited and resolute of capitalist society. For that it is indispensable to create a mature and disciplined proletarian party, intimately united with the revolutionary movement of the ~~the~~ working and popular masses, which will organize them, raise their consciousness and prepare them for revolution. But this isn't what the "anti-imperialists" talk about. For them the proletariat doesn't objectively exist. They come to tell us that only through an act of consciousness, through the assumption of the positions of the international proletariat, put like that, in this very general manner, is how individuals come to be proletarians.

Marx, nevertheless, linked the concept of the proletariat to the <sup>very</sup> same production of merchandise under capitalism, the extortion which the worker suffers as producer upon being expropriated of the products he produces. This is what really interests the worker as a class, which is inscribed on

their banner as the "expropriation of the expropriators." And it is also this ~~fact~~, this contradiction present in each productive cell of capitalism, the nucleus from which proletarian consciousness is born, the powerful combative force of the Proletariat, something very different from that which the RCP defends.

If as revolutionaries who want to transform society, we comprehend the backward circumstances of some sectors of the working class, the role of the labor aristocracy before the great mass of super exploited workers, & unemployed, etc., then we should also understand that the only way to transform the "class in itself" into "the class for itself" is through the workers party. The "class in itself" is the working class ~~as such~~ <sup>as such</sup> enlightened in the capitalist production process, broken up, ~~is~~ united. and without consciousness of their situation. History has shown us many times that only through the proletarian party is the working class organized and united to intervene politically as an independent force, in the class struggle in their country, conscious of their historic role and of socialist and communist objectives; this is the "class for itself". But opposing what we say, the "anti-imperialists" unilaterally replace the ~~the~~ countries economic and political conditions and the necessity of the

communist party for the subjective consideration of hate and anger, which while important for the struggle against the bourgeoisie is by all accounts insufficient. It is on this base — the base of hate and anger — that they say "the revolutionary front is now being developed in the center." Not on the shoulders of the proletariat, called upon, ~~according~~ as affirmed by Marx and all Marxist, to smash capitalist society, to be the grave diggers of capitalist society.

For the anti imperialists the proletariat "is constituted by those who combat imperialism". In this context of militant combat, the workers today confronting the plans of capitalist overexploitation, would not be, in their eyes, proletarians nor deserving of any interest unless the factory strikes "abandon the despicable and institutionalized territory of simple opposition." Thus we would relegate, to a very secondary place, an important communist task which consists of uniting with the most advanced workers, organizing them and taking advantage of the real conflicts in the factories to educate them in the weapon of Marxism and make them advance down the revolutionary path.

Nevertheless, it appears that the

Raf only wants to exploit the workers struggles when they leave the established paths — something quite common if we take into account the deep capitalist crisis — and convert it into a weapon against NATO. The communists do something very distinct, they try to convert each factory into a fortress of the Proletarian Party and the struggle against NATO into a another front in the struggle against capitalism and imperialism and for the dictatorship of the Proletariat.

The workers economic struggle, aside from being an inevitable conflict in capitalism, is an essential weapon to better their living conditions, and at the same time, a very useful communist weapon to strengthen workers combativeness, raise revolutionary consciousness and spread the Proletarian Program, etc.

The Proletarian Party should center its activities in the big manufacturing factories of a country, but not to constitute unions or describe the evils of imperialism and NATO, but to organize the workers in the principles of communism, to strengthen their proletarian solidarity, let the program of the socialist revolution become known, support the workers struggle, etc. It should combat the revisionists and all types of reformism and opportunism with

all its strength, denouncing the monopolies restructuring plans, forging workers organizations in the struggle that are independent of the bourgeoisie and the reformists, extending the popular support movement and pickets, to seek solidarity with other mass sectors, organize strikes and demonstrations, support the guerrilla struggle and foment the incorporation of workers into the armed struggle.

History has shown that the revolution has triumphed in those places where the revolutionaries have been supported by their own forces, developing the revolutionary struggle in their country. This, in our case, means working for the strengthening of the revolutionary workers movement and for them to carry out the previously designated tasks. The other progressive, socialist and revolutionary countries in the world have always supported the country making its revolution, but without the condition of ~~being~~ relying on one's own forces there is nothing to do. And ~~but~~ relying on your own forces in Europe means basing it on the powerful combative capacity of the proletariat, the main and directing force of the revolution, the working class

is the class that struggles and delivers itself completely to the struggle against capitalist society, the only one that can overthrow it and construct socialism. To think otherwise is to ~~separate~~ leave the ABC's of Marxism

Communist Party or National Liberation front.

What common points exist within the European revolutionary movement between the anti-imperialist tendency and the communist tendency? In general terms we can sum up these common points in the fight against the bourgeoisie and imperialism, and in defense of the armed struggle. The strategies, forms of conceiving the revolution, its objectives and relations between one and the other with the ~~revolution~~ proletarians revolutionary political struggle, are the aspects that distinguish us.

The anti imperialist current centers itself, fundamentally, in the preparation and execution of armed actions, with varying degrees of success, against the installations... and interests of the Atlantic Pact and nato.

These are actions based in the context of what they call "the

strategy against their strategy" and the supra-national "unity" of the revolutionary guerrilla organizations — a distorted interpretation of internationalism. Even in cases in which they have directed their attacks ~~was~~ against politicians and businessmen, it has been because of their relationship with NATO, weapons production or war.

What strategy can be spoken of when it goes in tow behind imperialist strategy? The armed actions of the RAF and Direct Action lack a proletarian political program, which is characterized by spontaneity and has no other political objective than the immediate military goal. Taking into account for the moment the path now being crossed by the European Revolutionary Movement, the positions defended by the anti-imperialists create confusion in the heart of an important sector of the revolutionary forces, derailing it from its true objectives and with it retarding its necessary development.

Keeping in mind that today Germany is the site of a confrontation between two ~~antagonistic~~ irreconcilable antagonistic camps: socialism and capitalism, we can observe better than in any other place, the role

Played in the real world by the military organizations of the anticommunist alliance. It is therefore easy to understand, because of the historical and political conditions of Germany, that the revolutionary movement there has tended to insist more on the form of the imperialist military alliance than on its class content. More on the external power of imperialism than on the tasks of organizing, clarifying and being sure to put themselves at the forefront of the working class to be able to end not only the imperialist alliances but also, what is more important, with the classes and the means of production that make them possible.

The "anti-imperialist" proposition of a West European front is an appropriate transplant to Europe of the national liberation fronts of the colonies and ~~the~~ neo-colonies. The RAF, which has always considered these movements as a political model of universal validity, despite the differences between Europe and the countries of the third world jumping into view, has aspired from the beginning to convert itself into a similar movement. This simplistic and unilateral analysis was, in its time, sustained by the Khruschevites and

strongly criticised by Mao Tse Tung, as "it tends to subjectively substitute ~~all~~ the one contradiction for all the other contradictions in the world."

It would be useless to ~~say~~ point out the little that can be gained with a similar scheme in Europe. It is true that the peoples' <sup>and</sup> nations of the third world have given very valuable teachings to the European proletarians, but wanting to copy or reproduce alien formulas in an uncritical manner has always produced negative results in the historical long run.

The supposed confrontation between imperialism and "liberation" is not correct. We would have to talk about the confrontation between capitalism and socialism, between the imperialist "national bourgeoisie" and the ~~not~~ revolutionary national proletariat, between the ~~the~~ bourgeois state of the bourgeois monopolists and the proletariat which struggles to impose its dictatorship and its state. The "anti-imperialists" proposition corresponds better with the ~~political~~ revolutionary political motives of other latitudes where, together with a meager proletariat there exists a peasantry that constitutes the main force of the population and a small and medium national bourgeoisie. In Europe

by contrast, the peasantry is as a general rule less than 10% while the proletariat is the one that constitutes the immense majority of the population and we lack a real national bourgeoisie that will reclaim the Revolution or that can unite with it among other things ~~and~~  
~~that can wait~~ because the epoch of the democratic bourgeois revolution has passed some time ago in Europe.

In our epoch the communists of each country should ~~not~~ consciously help the proletariat of their country struggle against their bourgeoisies, to unmask the bourgeois political line (bourgeois opportunism) and its plans for exploitation and oppression, to organize a working class independent of the bourgeoisie and corrupt unions and integrated in the system, to denounce the class collaboration of the reformist and revisionist parties and to struggle against them etc. From here the communists must try hard to forge a powerful Marxist Leninist party which will come to direct the proletariat in ~~the~~ its revolutionary struggle against the monopolist, financial and landowning oligarchy and their state, without that proletarian party the revolution is bordering on disaster. without that party, all attempts to organize the armed struggle for

COMMUNISM shall be in vain. Aside from the fact that the ~~best~~ support we can give the national liberation movements ~~is~~ ~~the~~ AND to the struggle against imperialism is making the revolution in our country, basing ~~on~~ ourselves on the powerful forces of the proletarian and the people."

# **Two Lines**

It would be absurd to consider the problem facing the European revolutionary movement, namely the existence of two divergent currents, as solely a problem of having, or not having, a party, or as a problem of adhering to one "model" or not, or of the reconstruction of the communist party, the party of the working class.

Basically, the problem is about the existence of considerable divergences in the appreciation of the character of the European revolution, of proletarian internationalism, of the political organization of the masses, the role and objectives of the armed guerrilla struggle, and of strategy and tactics, etc. In this article we propose to examine, as far as it is possible, the economic roots and class origins of the politics adhered to by the "anti-imperialists", their basic ideas and concepts, and, finally, the relationship between their political "project", their strategy and tactics with the recently occurring historical deeds in Europe, especially in their relation to the communist and workers movement.

This examination will allow us to show that the "anti-imperialists" do not possess a communist political program, that their whole strategy consists of "anti-imperialist" activity, anti-USA, anti-NATO, and that their objectives and ideological positions, far from representing those of the working class, better correspond with the class positions maintained by important sectors of the petty bourgeoisie. These are sectors which, in the face of the advances of transnational monopolies and the extension of their dominion to all bourgeois sectors and social groups, have seen a decline in their old prerogatives and influences in society. They have seen themselves frequently ruined and dispossessed, which in large part explains their radicalism. This is the known phenomenon of the proletarianization of the lower levels of the petty bourgeoisie, levels which suffer, characteristically, a strong pressure from the monopolies. We cannot deny that this highly radicalizing leftist movement, essentially reformist, maintains important ideological connections with these levels in the proletarianization process. It is this movement's proposal of anti-imperialist "unity" and their concept of attacks on the state, against the monopolies and against NATO, which have a lot to do with that proletarianization process.

One of the most important achievements of the guerrilla movement which arose at the start of the 70's in Europe is its having broken the false bourgeois-reformist peace of the European capitalist institutions, being able to direct the masses attention towards a revolutionary perspective. But some groups, overly encouraged by the many successes that the guerrilla activity has allowed them to reach, continue as if nothing has changed since then. They do not consider that now it is important to undertake historically abandoned revolutionary tasks; namely the encompassing of guerrilla activity within the broad political, military and organizational movement that is extending itself across all sectors. It is true, as these same events have shown, that in the period starting in the 70's through to the 80's that that form of armed activity was in good measure imposed as the means of making revolutionary politics in the imperialist countries. But now conditions have matured enough so that to continue in the same manner as before would be unjustifiably insisting on a unilateral and counterproductive practice for the European revolutionary movement.

To get out of this rut it is necessary to reunify the revolutionary forces on a Marxist-Leninist base, to begin to elaborate a proletarian program of socialist revolution and build a solid and ideologically cohesive Leninist party. There is no doubt that we can plan with greater certainty our political and military tasks from a broader political and military vision and from proletarian class positions and before the most immediate objectives and long term goals set forth by the socialist revolution for the proletariat. As the most immediate political task there stands out the fortifying of the communist party and the elaboration of the socialist revolution's minimal program, the organization and education of the workers in communist ideas, the unmasking of bourgeois politics and their reformist and revisionist alliances, etc. In the military aspect there must be concentration on the tasks concerning the formation of a small army of proletarian combatants that learn to dominate the art of prolonged popular war, modern military techniques, to synthesise into military tasks the political resistance movement's political line, etc.

Even though we are in the first phase of the revolutionary war, we shouldn't lose sight of our long term goals: popular insurrection and the arming of the people. At this time, and given the correlation of existing forces, the guerrilla leadership should scrupulously and with insight select their military targets

in a manner that facilitates the accumulation of revolutionary forces and ease the realization of the political tasks assigned to the organized forces in the resistance movement. We could say, broadly, that the latter are the fundamental objectives set forth for the guerrilla; its minimal military program. Until not too long ago it could be admitted, due to political and historical conditioning, that revolutionary activity had to be the main focus, over and above the military struggle. But now, today, it imposes itself to encompass the tasks we have just described, and delay is harmful. The longer we delay in understanding and undertaking these political and military tasks, the harder and rockier the path to socialist revolution will be.

Elaborating the revolution's program is a task that requires time and the synthesis of many experiences of struggle. But it is harmful and a grave error to refuse or reject its elaboration. Those who adopt such an attitude show their little or no interest in really transforming today's society.

We, for our part, want to call the attention of the European revolutionaries to the important political process that is currently taking place in Europe: the growing convergence of the communists with the most advanced sectors and elements of the proletariat. Our duty consists of ensuring that this semi-spontaneous process be realized consciously and be finished in as organized and directed a manner as possible. The objective conditions are in good measure already existing: broad sectors of the working class, the most combatant and advanced, need a proletarian and communist organization to lead them and a revolutionary program to struggle for. At the same time, the actual capitalist economic depression, the cutting of funds for the bourgeois social programs, the unemployment and misery for large popular sectors, the continuous laying off of large numbers of workers by the monopolist restructuring plans, etc. have awoken thousands of workers ready to fight for socialism, who are each time more conscious of their historic responsibility and they are identified with their class and prepared for the maximum sacrifices to push ahead the proletarian's cause. Far behind us lie the reformist traps and prejudices exploited by the "welfare" and "post industrial" society, old ideological relics of postwar monopoly capital.

### **Our Internationalist Conception**

Faced with those who think that in actuality the practice of proletarian internationalism consists of creating small supra-national military organizations as a futile response to NATO, we maintain that it continues to be a valid concept for communists to work towards making revolution in their own country and in contributing to its triumph in other places.

In view of the particular circumstances we are going through at this time, we believe that the contribution of each person should be based on the following:

1) To participate with enthusiasm in the ideological discussion and the debate that is going on all over the place on principles, tactics, and strategy and the most immediate tasks for communists. To the extent that our material possibilities allow us, for some time we have participated in that discussion, sharing our experiences, defending our positions and principles and fraternally criticizing the positions of others. Thus we have intervened in the small debate concerning internationalism, especially as to those tasks which cannot be postponed for communists such as the building of the party and the renunciation and unmasking of all types of opportunism. We have also given our opinion as to what should be the role and configuration of the party at this time, what is the role and function of the guerrilla's armed activity, what character do the anti-imperialist contradictions have today, etc. We have written several distinct articles on the subject.

2) Morally and materially support the political and ideological struggle being carried out by our comrades in other countries. We believe that the best form of moral support is frank and open criticism, to point out the weaknesses of others, to make our own their just defence of communist positions, to defend and support their struggle against opportunist and militarist positions, and, in highlighted form, support the just and decisive combat against the bourgeois and their state, against imperialism, even though in some cases we don't totally share the same objectives.

The internationalism to which we refer is over and above the existing differences between the two lines that we have been discussing and facilitates relations, rapprochement, the exchange of experiences and collaboration on general topics, as well as united struggle against common enemies: the bourgeois

state and imperialism. Only through frank, open, and unreserved criticism, recognizing each other's positions and accepting just criticism is how a fruitful collaboration and mutual support can be sustained.

For that same reason, and given the situation through which the European revolutionary movement is going through we cannot avoid showing with the decisiveness and clarity needed, the basic differences that exist between these two lines which are showing themselves; to do otherwise we would run the risk that our positions would be misrepresented, with all the damage that that could cause. Our slogan is: to advance determined to build the party, the organization of the working class and the prolonged people's war; to struggle, by criticism, against the militarist tendency and the pan-European militarism; to struggle for the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat in Europe; little by little forging the alliance and unity of all the proletarians of the continent, basing ourselves - in the first place - on our own forces, on the immense strength of all the workers who struggle against capitalism in each country.

Given the significant radical turn that the worker's struggles and strikes are taking all over (opposed to the revitalization projects of decadent capitalism), the revolutionary communist tendency of the movement is starting to find great backing and support which foresees its development taking root and fortifying itself.

It is understandable the confusion that the establishment and defense of truly internationalist positions and the communist program of the working class produces among the "anti-imperialists"; it could not be otherwise when they lack an authentic class based, proletarian program. Their proclaimed "Front" of "Internationalism" is nothing more than a stale pan-Europeanism with no apparent goal beyond a Europe that is denuclearized, demilitarized, green, and without NATO. A Utopian proposition that is impossible outside of a completely communist world, even though it represents the ideal and the petty bourgeois illusion of a peaceful, humane, and prosperous capitalist society. This tendency would be, if we took it to its logical conclusion, conservative and reactionary despite its hardened and combative anti-NATO disposition.

### Marxism And Idealism

The components of the "anti-imperialist" current are accustomed to calling themselves "marxists", but their "marxism" has little to do with the fundamental principles defended by Marx, Engels, and Lenin, aside from not taking into account at all dialectical and historical materialism.

This we know, marxists share the economic and social analysis of the classes in struggle in society, of the means of production and the historic era for, later, elaborating a proletarian program and their communist strategy. To accomplish this task they distinguish between the so-called objective conditions (which are imposed on the proletariat and its communist vanguard), and the subjective (that which the proletariat can decide, what its tactics and strategy should be, etc.). In studying the RAF's documents we note a lack of this type of analysis.

Of the analysis made by the RAF we would like to particularly point out the shortcomings of their concepts of proletarianization and the international proletariat.

They affirm, for example, that social classes cannot yet be defined by "the position they occupy in the process of production". It is enough to remember that, for Marx and Engels, and especially for Lenin, in their analysis of class and of class struggle in capitalist society this definition of class was always an unshakeable buttress of marxism, and of materialism. And on many occasions they warned that abandoning it would lead to into the swamp of idealism, opportunism, and chauvinism.

It is clear that behind the concepts such as "militant proletarianization", the alienation and bourgeoisification of the workers", the "process in the base", etc., the "anti-imperialists" hide their weakening of marxism. Thus they proclaim that "the class" - said like that; in the abstract - are those who have understood the destructive character of the system" and that "this basis of the proletarianization is the reason that the persons present in the base process, the resistance, etc., come from all sectors of the people.

As we can see, the RAF's concepts diverge from Leninism, and it would be important to ask ourselves the circumstances which have made possible the ideological stagnation of the "anti-imperialist" current. We believe that it is the following: In the first place, the disorganization and disruption due above all to the revisionist theories born in the heart of the 20th congress of the CPUSSR; it must be taken into account, besides, that all this occurs during a period of relative peace and even a boom of the capitalist

economy. In the second place, the lack of real communist parties to confront the new situation has resulted in numerous revolutionary groups appearing, generally unfamiliar with the revolutionary traditions and experiences of marxism-leninism. These groups confronted the state with the most efficient means they had at their disposal, in principal:armed struggle, but they were completely disarmed ideologically. In lacking a firm leninist spirit and not understanding the necessity of building a party capable of sticking together, organizing, educating and directing the most advanced elements of the working class, they would sooner or later slip into bourgeois and opportunist positions: the ideological positions they wind up assuming are close to Proudhon or Bakunin than Marx.

Undoubtedly, a good part of the blame must fall on the advance and extension of the monopolies and trusts and other economic sectors of capitalist society, which by crushing the interests of the petty bourgeoisie has created an important discontent among this sector. Even though this is true, what cannot be accepted is that the petty-bourgeoisie, brusquely radicalized by its special situation, should seek to represent the interest, objectives or positions of the proletariat. It is from the workers, the most exploited class in capitalist society that the most advanced mass elements shall come from, and from where the vigorous force necessary to overthrow bourgeois imperialist power shall arise. It is the communist's duty to attract those layers which are in a process of proletarianization towards a proletarian program, to make them understand that there is no other existence aside from socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, to criticize their desperation and opportunism, their lack of vision,etc.,; or at least to counteract them. On the other hand, and in line with the characteristics which we have made, the "anti-imperialist" comrades, in their position of idealist confusion try to convince us that the state-society contradiction is the principle contradiction in the metropolis.

This we know: Marxism has never spoken of a contradiction between state and society, but rather, starting from a class analysis, has set out the existing contradiction between the bourgeoisie and their state and the proletariat, etc. And it has always considered the state as an instrument of oppression by one class over another; a repressive military apparatus - in its essences - organized and directed - principally - against the oppressed and exploited class - the proletariat.

The state is the most important organ, as an instrument of class struggle against the proletariat, that the bourgeoisie has in its power. That is the essence of the state. From there, the proletariat should direct its efforts to overthrow the bourgeoisie state to replace it with the new, the proletarian state,; the dictatorship of the proletariat. Confronting the state with "society", as the "anti-imperialists" do it, is placing the state outside of society, as superior entity above it, and it is to deny the class character of the state. At the same time it supposes, considering the state to be superfluous and malignant, that the objective the revolutionaries must plan for is to destroy all vestiges of the state, as Bakunin wanted to do in his time. In this manner, together with their anti-state predisposition and the absence of a communist program, the "anti-imperialists" propose, in accordance with that state-society contradiction, an inter-class alliance to combat the state which is in their eyes the only cause of all the ills suffered by capitalist "society".

Even though in one of their documents we are told that their revolutionary policy in the metropolis "has nothing to do with a conception of the world", we see that this is not true. We think that it fits their deeds better to admit that their world conception obeys a situation in which the petty bourgeoisie, finding itself without any future and crushed by the multinationals, centres all of its attacks on the imperialist state, especially against its military apparatus and alliances.. These attacks have no real perspective and bring to mind the workers who broke the machines thinking that in such a manner the exploitation of the proletariat would end: these were for the most part the old ruined sectors of artisans and small merchants who had seen themselves displaced from their workshops and small businesses by the big mechanization.

The reformist struggle differs radically from the communist struggle in that the latter seek to organize the worker's forces organized in the spirit of communism and in the strategy of the popular prolonged war, and in the most immediate strategic objectives which they can pursue.

It can't be any other way when the "anti-imperialists" believe that the proletariat is not an objective creation of capitalist society but that it is about an act of consciousness. They affirm that the subjective is essential and "decisive for the struggle in the imperialist centres" in that the imperialist centres "do not naturally produce - aside from only the objective contradiction and existing conditions - any revolutionary condition... any revolutionary condition at all, but only destruction and putrefaction".

It is a grave subjectivist error typical of voluntarism, to maintain these positions, given that for the revolution to triumph there must be determined revolutionary conditions which should be, in the first place, objective; even though the objective revolutionary conditions are not enough in themselves to overthrow a regime or government, as these don't fall unless attacked, they are essential. For these reasons it is necessary to develop the subjective conditions based on the workers, the most numerous, advanced, exploited and resolute of capitalist society. It is indispensable to create a mature and disciplined proletarian party, intimately united with the revolutionary movement of the working and popular masses, which will organize them, raise their consciousness and prepare them for revolution. But this is not what the "anti-imperialists" talk about. For them the proletariat does not objectively exist. They come to tell us that only through an act of consciousness, through the assumptions of the positions of the international proletariat, put like that, in this very general manner, is how individuals come to be proletarians.

Marx nevertheless, linked the concept of the proletariat to the very same production of merchandise under capitalism, the extortion which the worker suffers as producer upon being expropriated of the products he produces. This is what really interests the worker, and what is inscribed on their banner as the "expropriation of the expropriators". And it is also from this contradiction present in each productive cell of capitalism, that the nucleus of a proletarian consciousness, and of a powerful combative force of the proletariat is being born. This is something very different from that which the RAF defends.

If as revolutionaries who want to transform society, we comprehend the backward circumstances of some sectors of the working class, the role of the labour aristocracy before the great mass of super-exploited workers, the unemployed, etc., than we should also understand that the only way to transform the "class in itself" into the "class for itself" is through the workers party. The "class in itself" is the working class enlightened in the capitalist production process, broken up, and with out consciousness of its situation. History has shown us many times that only through the proletarian party is the working class organized and united to intervene politically as an independent force, in the class struggle, conscious of their historic role and of socialist and communist objectives; this is the "class for itself". But, opposing what we say, the "anti-imperialists" unilaterally replace the countries' economic and political conditions and the necessity of the communist party for the subjective consideration of hate and anger, which while important for the struggle against the bourgeoisie is by all accounts insufficient. It is on this base - the base of hate and anger - that they say "the revolutionary front is now being developed in the centre". Not on the shoulders of the proletariat, called upon, as affirmed by Marx and all marxists, to smash capitalist society, and to be the gravediggers of capitalist society.

For the "anti-imperialists", the proletariat "is constituted by those who combat imperialism". In this context of militant combat, the workers today confronting the plans of the capitalist over-exploitation would not be, in their eyes, proletarians nor deserving of any interest, unless the factory strikes "abandon the despicable and institutionalized territory of simple opposition". Thus would we relegate to a very secondary place, an important communist task which consists of uniting with the most advanced workers, organizing them and taking advantage of the real conflicts in the factory to educate them in the weapon of marxism and make them advance down the revolutionary path.

Nevertheless, it appears that the RAF only wants to exploit the worker's struggles when they leave the established paths - something quite common if we take into account the deep capitalist crisis - and convert it into a weapon against NATO. The communists do something very distinct, they try to convert each struggle against NATO into another front in the struggle against imperialism and for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The worker's economic struggle, aside from being an inevitable conflict in capitalism, is an essential weapon to better their living conditions and at the same time, a very useful communist weapon to strengthen worker's combativeness, raise revolutionary consciousness and spread the proletarian program, etc.

The proletarian party should centre its activities in the big manufacturing factories of a country, but not to constitute unions or describe the evils of imperialism and NATO, but to organize the workers in the principles of communism, to strengthen their proletarian solidarity, let the program of the socialist revolution become known, support the worker's struggles, etc. It should combat the revisionists and all types of reformism and opportunism with all its strength, denouncing the monopolies restructuring plans, forging worker's organisations in the struggle that are independent of the bourgeoisie and the reformists,

extending the popular support movements and pickets, seek solidarity with other mass sectors, organize strikes and demonstrations, support the guerrilla struggle and foment the incorporation of workers into the armed struggle.

History has shown that the revolution has triumphed in those places where the revolutionaries have been supported by their own forces, developing the revolutionary struggle in their own country. This, in our case, means working for the strengthening of the revolutionary worker's movement and for them to carry out the previously designated tasks. The other progressive and revolutionary countries in the world have always supported the country making its revolution, but without the condition of relying on one's own forces there is nothing to do. And relying on your own forces in Europe means basing it on the powerful combative capacity of the proletariat, the main and directing force of the revolution. The working class is the class that struggles and delivers itself completely to the struggle against capitalist society, the only one that can overthrow it and construct socialism. To think otherwise is to forgo the ABC's of Marxism.

### Communist Party Or National Liberation Front

What common points exist within the European revolutionary movement between the anti-imperialist tendency and the communist tendency? In general terms we can sum up these points in the fight against imperialism and the bourgeoisie, and in defense of armed struggle. The strategies, forms of conceiving the revolution, its objectives and relations between one and the other with the proletariat's revolutionary struggle; these are the areas that separate us.

The anti-imperialist current centres itself fundamentally in the preparation and execution of armed actions, with varying degrees of success, against the interests and installations of the Atlantic pact and NATO. These are actions based in the context of what they call "the strategy against their strategy" and the supernational "unity" of the revolutionary guerrilla organizations - a distorted interpretation of internationalism. Even in cases in which they have directed their attacks against politicians and businessmen, it has been because of their relationship with NATO, weapons production, or war.

What strategy can be spoken of when it goes in tow behind imperialist strategy? The armed actions of the RAF and Action Directe lack a proletarian political program, they are characterized by spontaneity and have no other political objective than the immediate military goal. Taking into account for a moment the path now being crossed by the European revolutionary movement; the positions defended by the anti-imperialists create confusion in the heart of an important sector of the revolutionary forces, derailing it from its true objectives and with this, slowing down its necessary development.

Keeping in mind that today Germany is the site of a confrontation between two irreconcilably antagonistic camps: socialism and capitalism, we can observe better than in any other place, the role played in the real world by the military forces of the anti-communist alliance. It is therefore easy to understand, because of the historical and political conditions of Germany, that the revolutionary movement there has tended to insist more on the form of the imperialist military alliance than on its class content, more on the external power of imperialism than on the tasks of organizing, clarifying, and being sure to put themselves at the forefront of the working class in order to end not only the imperialist alliances but also, more importantly, the classes and the means of production that make these alliances possible.

The anti-imperialist proposition of a west European front is an inappropriate transplantation to Europe of the National Liberation Fronts of the colonies and the neo-colonies. The RAF, which has always considered these movements as a political model of universal validity, despite the differences between Europe and the countries of the Third World which leap into view, has aspired from the beginning to convert itself into a similar movement. This simplistic and unilateral analysis was, in its time sustained by the Krushevites and strongly criticized by Mao Tse-Tung, as "it tends to subjectively substitute one contradiction for all the other contradictions in the world". It would be useless to point out the little that can be gained with a similar scheme in Europe. It is very true that people and actions of the Third World have given very valuable teaching to the European proletarians, but wanting to copy or reproduce alien formulas in an uncritical manner has always produced negative results in the political long run.

The supposed confrontation between imperialism and "liberation" is not correct. We have to talk about the confrontation between capitalism and socialism, between the imperialist "national bourgeoisie" and the revolutionary national proletariat, between the state of the bourgeoisie monopolists and the

proletariat which struggles to impose its dictatorship and its state. The "anti-imperialists" proposition corresponds better with revolutionary political motives of other latitudes where, together with a meagre proletariat there exists a peasantry that constitutes the main force of the population and a small and medium national bourgeoisie. In Europe, by contrast, the peasantry is as a general rule less than 10% while the proletariat is the one that constitutes the immense majority of the population and we lack a real national bourgeoisie that will reclaim the revolution or that can unite with it among other things because the epoch of the democratic bourgeois revolution has passed some time ago in Europe.

In our epoch the communists of each country should consciously help the proletariat of their country struggle against their bourgeoisie, to unmask the bourgeois political line (bourgeois opportunism) and its plans for exploitation and oppression, to organize a working class independent of the bourgeoisie and corrupt unions and integrated into the system, to denounce the class collaboration of the reformists and revisionist parties and to struggle against them, etc. From here the communists must try hard to forge a powerful Marxist-Leninist party which will come to direct the proletariat in its revolutionary struggle against the monopolist, financial and landowning oligarchy and their state. Without that proletarian party all attempts to organize the armed struggle for communism will be in vain. Aside from the fact that the best support we can give the national liberation movements and to the struggle against imperialism is making revolution in our own country, basing ourselves on the powerful forces of the proletariat and the people.

**Soria Prison, February 1987**

*(From: "Textos para el Debate en el movimiento revolucionario europeo" by members of the Comuna Carlos Marx which is a collective of political prisoners from the Partido Comunista de Espana (reconstituido) - PCE(r).)*

# Interview with GRAPO

(July, 1990 Area Critica)

An interview completely elaborated by GRAPO, with its own questions and answers, has reached various Basque media outlets. Its authenticity has been verified by various photographs which depict hooded persons carrying weapons habitually used by that organization. In the interview they set out various themes related to their political posture and diverse appraisals on their future intentions, as well as some comments on the general political situation.

The document has not been made public through the receiving political media means, but it can have a useful and interesting value to our readers which we want to leave to their discretion.

**Q: Why groups of resistance?**

**A:** Because groups of resistance are necessary. The situation in the Spanish state makes the armed struggle necessary. You only need to look at our environment. The popular masses are oppressed by multiple problems. Each day unemployment, misery and corruption grows and nobody stops the abuse. On the other hand, the non-violent means of protest don't work for anything, you are not allowed to organize to give a real solution to your problems, a little movement on your part and they put you in jail. What to do? The only avenue left is direct confrontation with the regime, and the armed struggle is the highest expression of this confrontation. That's the way it is. Our rulers only see the light when they are hit. That is why the resistance is necessary. We say resistance because, naturally, we aren't going to finish with them in a day. Our struggle is marked by a process of prolonged war. Which is defined by its offensive character, to resist the enemy's blows. If everything were going well our struggle wouldn't be justified, but unfortunately, it isn't that way. Naturally we talk about the problems of the workers, the students... which for the bourgeoisie aren't problems. What are we going to do? Perhaps that's why they don't stop lamenting that there's a few crazies dedicated to souring their existence, returning the blows they unleash on the people.

**Q: It may be a common question but why are there so many reappearances of GRAPO? Someone has compared you to the Guadiana River, you disappear and then reappear.**

**A:** The comparison isn't bad. We, like that river, are a living force within our society. We are in permanent combat against the enemy and sometimes they are able to hit us and reduce our armed activity. When this happens, we go back

to our roots, that is to say, to the most combative men and women of our people, we regroup and...

**Q: Pretty poetic isn't it?**

**A:** That's how it is. That could explain our history. Since 1975 until around 1978 we formed a new type of armed organization, without experience and few means. In combat we acquired both. We had surprise in our favour: the state's repressive forces knew nothing of our functioning and little about our militants. That made the organization's activity easier in actions like the kidnapping of Oriol and Villaescusa and other operations carried out during that time period. But even though their repression wasn't easy, the police relied extensively on their traditional methods: massive detentions, systematic torture... They accumulated information and little by little began detaining some combat groups and important leaders.

**Q: And that started the calvary of GRAPO?**

**A:** We can't say that. Suffering and defeat temper and harden the combatants. But it's not about that. What happens is that around that time is when the regime's political manoeuvre began to take on a clear shape. The "reform" operation so that nothing would change you could say. In that situation there was a recession of the revolutionary movement. Certain expectations were created in the masses in the sense that perhaps with democracy they could solve their problems, perhaps with autonomy... It is not about a particular problem with our organization, but of the entire popular movement. That notwithstanding and despite the setbacks suffered, there were some initial successes on the military level and the attempt to mask a fascist regime failed.

**Q: But the reforms were consolidated.**

**A:** The fact that some political reforms were imposed within the state apparatus does not imply its consolidation. The democratic mask has neither legitimized the regime nor taken it out of the isolation it suffered before the reform. But anyways following the thread of what we were saying earlier, it is in that situation when the repressive forces accumulate sufficient information on our movement, they go on the offensive and go on a real hunt against our combatants. It mattered little that the "democracy" would be forever stained with murder and torture, the important thing for them was to finish with our organization by any means. They murdered Collazo and Cerdan and other frontline combatants.

**Q: And then the PSOE arrives.**

**A:** With the PSOE in government the state's repressive machinery developed and perfected

itself in the most beastly form. With this they took advantage of the confusion that their demagogic politics had created among the masses. Without the Felipistas in the government and the famous 10 million votes they got, the state powers would not have dared carry out the dirty war across the country. The PSOE gave them this option on a silver platter.

From another point of view, this assumes something very important: with the PSOE the regime was out of political responses. We don't want to say that the dominant classes can't stay in power much longer, what happens is that they no longer fool anyone and their room for manoeuvre is considerably reduced. They are on the defensive again. This is a favourable factor for the resistance and it will allow us to regroup our forces and develop our strategy.

**Q: What are GRAPO's objectives? In one of your documents you set forth your theory of prolonged people's war, but that doesn't clarify anything. War is made for a purpose...**

**A:** Evidently, war is made for a purpose. We make it to finish with the imperial political-economic system in Spain, to finish with all the yokes that this system generates. We know that this isn't a one day thing. Our struggle, which is that of the working masses, for their liberation, will be long, and in the course of which we hope to convert ourselves into the people's army. In the first phase of this war we defend ourselves, we resist the enemy's blows, hitting them when it will benefit us the most politically and supporting the popular struggles. We consider this struggle to be essentially "defensive" which is to say that even though the state and Spanish dominant class present themselves as "victims of terrorist violence", in reality, we are the victims along with the popular masses and they are the victimizers. For our part, all we do is confront the diverse forms of violence which they exercise on the people. It is a resistance struggle and as such does not limit itself to stopping blows and returning them, but rather has as its main objective in this phase of the struggle to accumulate revolutionary forces to finish the system in the future. It is very clear that we by ourselves are not going to finish with it. From there, as we say in the Guerrilla's Manual, which sums up the experiences and political-military theories of organization, the strategy of GRAPO continues to be "free the workers revolutionary energies" who will, ultimately, be the ones who make the revolution.

**Q: But your strategy is based on the PCE(r)-GRAPO complex...**

**A:** That story about the complex! What we don't have is any complex in showing our relationship with the PCE(r). We have stated many times that we are not the armed wing of any party nor of any force that is not that of the popular resis-

tance movement, of all that movement of independent and radical struggle confronting the regime. Now too, we have always maintained that the PCE(r) is the party that expresses the best political strategy for the liberation of our people.

**Q: In Euskadi things appear in a different manner, because even if it's just to make an example, why don't you carry out any operations in their territory?**

**A:** It is evident that Euskadi, Catalonia and Galicia have a very specific goal: gaining self-determination. We support the struggle for vindication without reservation. And those aren't just words. On various occasions our operational commandos have carried out actions in support of the struggle of the Basque people and other nationalities for their national rights. But we must also take into account that Euskadi is immersed in a more advanced process. They have developed a powerful national liberation movement and armed organization. How could we hope to substitute it?

**Q: Then, do you think the ETA's struggle is correct?**

**A:** It's an inadequate term, one thing is the justness of a cause, of a struggle, and another is the political or military theory chosen for its execution. We differ on this point.

**Q: As to the strategy for national liberation, as it is carried out in the developed countries, is it correct?**

**A:** This struggle has acquired a term which defines its situation. This term is "ulsterization". Or rather, a situation of strategic equilibrium: I can't destroy you but you can't destroy me either. Which results in the principal or dominant factor, which keeps this contradiction alive, will always dominate, regardless of the losses that it causes.

**Q: How do you break this equilibrium?**

**A:** To finish with that situation, we believe that what is lacking is a unity of all the forces that oppose and resolutely struggle against the state, and in particular, the unity of the working class of all nationalities. Only the working class has within it the necessary strength to put an end to national oppression and to many other problems. Of course for that we would have to introduce other theories, a clear program of socialist resolution which would entail, as an essential point for the nationalities, the plain exercise of national rights.

**Q: Like in Lithuania more or less?**

**A:** And why not like Lithuania? A referendum to

decide union or separation sounds like a good solution to us, even though, naturally, there may be others. What happens first is that said referendum would be impossible in Spain as long as the state of the Spanish oligarchy is still standing. And secondly, well, in Lithuania the reactionary and pro-imperialist bourgeoisie is not interested in it because they know perfectly well it would lose. In other words, the Lithuania people would choose socialism and that's why they don't want it.

**Q: We're going to talk about a subject that is very current: the hungerstrike by the PCE(r) and GRAPO prisoners for reunification. Lately you have carried out actions in support of them, such as the case of the doctor in Zaragoza.**

**A:** At the hour of carrying out specific operations, our central command analyzes the situation in its entirety and chooses the most adequate objective for each moment. In the dynamic of the struggle against the oppressing state, people and classes take positions. Some are neutral, some oppose them and others put themselves at their service. We direct our arms against these latter. It is the real dynamic of the class struggle. Force feeding, torturing a person tied hand and foot like that, is to put yourself at the side of a government which has shown its executioners' face. All the other discourses only try to justify the torturers. That's our way of looking at things.

**Q: But that hungerstrike, doesn't it look like an unequal struggle to you?**

**A:** It is from a certain point of view. Evidently it is the prisoners who carry the suffering, the ones who undergo the turnscrew torture, but they are not the only ones who struggle. In reality all the healthy forces of our society have risen up against the government's barbarism and intransigence. From corner to corner of our country voices have been raised seeking a just solution to the problem. As is well known, we have also supported them with our actions. But definitely, the most important thing is that this struggle which started with a handful of men and women has become a struggle that has moved the country and put the government against the ropes demonstrating weakness.

**Q: Its weakness?**

**A:** Man, they've been left with their ass in the air. All of its miseries and with it their true character have been left uncovered. What better thing than to solve a problem with such an easy solution? Only their attitude has impeded resolution of these things before they reached the magnitude they have acquired. If we were really facing a politically strong government, sustained by an ample social base, it can be rea-

soned that a solution to this conflict would have been relatively easy. With that they would have avoided the political unmasking they are now suffering. But it is clear that without their thugs and dirty war they have nothing to rest on, which evidently greatly limits any political initiative they may wish to take, no matter how small it may be.

**Q: How do you explain the measures against the political prisoners?**

**A:** The political prisoners have become true hostages in the hands of the state, into a ball to taunt the revolutionary movement. The forms this taunting can take are very diverse, but the main thing is they try to obligate you to make the struggle depend solely on the problems the prisoners may have, or rather, to make you intervene militarily each time they launch a provocation. If you fall for this you are forced to abandon other forms of struggle, to abandon support for other popular sectors and the combat against other objectives that are of vital importance for the interests of the bourgeoisie or the state apparatus, and finally, when you notice you have lost the initiative, they isolate you, corner you and BAMM!

Falling into the trap also supposes deauthorizing (? - trans.) the very prisoners. They are not in prison for defending their own personal or group interests, but for struggling for a cause which transcends all personal interest and individual attitude. On the street we continue this struggle and set ourselves another goal: their liberation. But we insist on not entering a dynamic of "immediate response" to the government's provocations. As much in this case as in others, because that is where we will have already lost the match. We have our plans and we will accomplish them independently of what they do.

**Q: Are these plans secret?**

**A:** Not really. They are very simple, support the struggle of the workers and all the other popular sectors that confront the state and, of course, hit the bourgeoisie when and where we can cause damage. These plans are nothing new. They serve the objectives we have fixed for the actual stage: the accumulation of forces and the preparation of conditions which make possible the extension and strengthening of the organized revolutionary movement.

**Q: And if a possibility for negotiation comes up?**

**A:** The questions of negotiation actually appears as an obligatory reference for every revolutionary movement. To put things like that, as if a solution to problems depends on a future negotiation is to choose a path that leads nowhere. But look, that doesn't mean we reject negotia-

tion as a political weapon to be used at the given time. We'll see. We hope to finish with the reactionary state in the context of a prolonged struggle in which there can be complex situations which allow us to make propositions for a peaceful solution to determined problems. All wars have these situations. Now then, we look at that hypothetical negotiation in a manner which would serve the consolidation of our positions and favours the political education and organization of the masses. Never to get sidetracked from our final objective, which is to overthrow the regime. To do otherwise would leave the initiative in the enemy's hands.

We desire that problems be resolved in a peaceful or negotiated manner. We have always desired that. It is they who have no such interest. They only seek surrender with nothing more, and the delivery of our weapons and do nothing on their part to end the problems which are the origin of the struggle.

**Q: And why don't they want to solve the problem of violence?**

A: In reality the crisis the system is going through impedes their taking any initiative in that direction. For that reason the struggle will continue. It is necessary and inevitable. But we don't discard the possibility that some day there could be a real negotiation. At the moment it is clear that conditions have not matured nor is there light on the horizon that could take us to a situation of that type. But our posture towards this subject is very clear and in it is the proposition we have made many times. We have said: free the prisoners, make a gesture of that type and we'll respond in kind.

**Q: From that point of view, how do you see the dynamic of the negotiations being planned in Euskadi between ETA and the government?**

A: The government has never seen negotiation as the solution to the national problem in Euskadi. In every case all it has talked about is a solution to "the problem of violence", that is to say, to the problem of eliminating ETA and the popular Basque movement. For this all they have offered, with a thousand and one conditions, is the liberation of the patriotic prisoners. It has never been willing to do more. Now they aren't even willing to do that. Reinsertion, which has always come to be the rotten carrot that they offer, has come to land in the garbage. Coreuera and the heads of the institutional parties are talking about ending that offer. What does that mean? It means that on the one hand the government's plans to plant some confusion and divide the Basque popular movement have failed, but it also supposes the breaking of the positions of those who bet on that route as a possible parting point for a solution to the national problem in Euskadi. Now there is no

other alternative but to grab the revindicaciones by force, arguing for the combative unity in all the popular movements in Spain. This is the only viable response to the state terrorism and dirty war. They want us to surrender? Well, we'll have to answer like Sandino told the yanquis in his day: "let your father surrender!"

**Q: And the near future, how do you see it?**

A: As a future of resistance and struggle. It goes without saying that in good measure that future will be conditioned to the political prisoners struggle, to the support movement they are generating and the government's attitude before it. For our part during this strike we have been very patient in waiting for a just solution that would end this painful conflict. But the whole world has been able to prove that good reasons mean nothing to this government. They are so closed and so fascist that only the guerrilla's blows can make them recant.

But they can only continue their usual path, that of torture and state terrorism. But, in that case, let them take into account that the struggle will be long and even though they hide behind walls of uniforms and machineguns we will go for them, we will find them and we will do justice.